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ABSTRACT

The bulletin reports on significant research, development, and current practice that bear on the social studies and the disadvantaged for levels K-12. The report is intended to serve as a guide for curriculum decision makers and other educators interested in teaching about, as well as to, the disadvantaged. The following five areas are discussed: 1) social studies curriculum; 2) teaching strategies; 3) instructional materials; 4) teachers for the disadvantaged; and 5) recommendations to educators. A list of books on the disadvantaged learner is provided. (RM)

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SOCIAL STUDIES AND THE DISADVANTAGED

SOCIAL STUDIES SECTION
DIVISION OF
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY
AUSTIN, TEXAS

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COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE VI, CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 AND THE MODIFIED COURT ORDER, CIVIL ACTION 5281, FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, TYLER DIVISION

Reviews of local education agencies pertaining to compliance with Title VI Civil Rights Act of 1964 and with specific requirements of the Modified Court Order, Civil Action No. 5281, Federal District Court, Eastern District of Texas, Tyler Division are conducted periodically by staff representatives of the Texas Education Agency. These reviews cover at least the following policies and practices:

(1) acceptance policies on student transfers from other school districts;

(2) operation of school bus routes or runs on a non-segregated basis;

(3) non-discrimination in extracurricular activities and the use of school facilities;

(4) non-discriminatory practices in the hiring, assigning, promoting, paying, demoting, reassigning or dismissing of faculty and staff members who work with children;

(5) enrollment and assignment of students without discrimination on the ground of race, color or national origin; and

(6) evidence of published procedures for hearing complaints and grievances.

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PREFACE

The social studies have special opportunity and responsibility regarding the deprived, for social studies teachers teach about the disadvantaged as well as to them. Logically then, one might expect the social studies component of schooling to have risen early and fully to the challenge of new emphasis on the education of and about the deprived. But this has not happened; indeed, the social studies have lagged.

It was 1969 before any book-size publication appeared on social studies and the disadvantaged, in the current sense. Not one of the forty major social studies curriculum projects during the 1960's focused primarily on either disadvantaged students or curriculum content concerning disadvantaged peoples. Many hundreds of special institutes, workshops, and programs sought to improve teachers; but only a handful dealt mainly with the disadvantaged.

Social studies teachers organizations responded slowly. By 1968 national convention programs began to reflect awareness of the problem, but no major thrust was made. Some State councils for social studies paid more attention to the problem; but others, little. There seemed little evidence, as the 1960's ended, that national professional leadership in social studies was coming to grips with the problem, much less guiding teachers toward hopeful means of coping with it.

Despite such limitations, however, interest in the disadvantaged grew among teachers and leaders in the field. Efforts to improve the contributions of social studies to the disadvantaged were sporadic, uneven, and often homemade; but they were undertaken in many school systems. The previous efforts lacked precedents or patterns to guide their practice; but this did not deter those who were most eager, willing, or desirous of meeting the problem.

During the past five years, and especially during the last two or three, results of efforts to improve social studies regarding the disadvantaged have appeared in growing

and significant numbers. While not all of the projects have achieved success, their reporting has provided a cumulation of reports that can guide school practices. But the availability of such guidance depends on inventorying, analyzing, and interpreting the results of pertinent projects. It is that task to which this interpretive study, conducted by Dr. Jonathon C. McLendon of the University of Georgia, Athens, was devoted--to interpret, for curriculum decisionmakers and other educators, significant research, development, and current practice that bears on social studies and the disadvantaged. Involved with Dr. McLendon in the conduct of the study and the writing of the final report were Donald O. Schneider, Michael L. Hawkins, and Marion J. Rice.

The final report upon which the original PREP kit on "Social Studies and the Disadvantaged" and this subsequent bulletin are based has been entered into the ERIC system, and copies in microfiche and hard copy are available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service under the title "Social Studies and the Disadvantaged: Targeted Communication (Interpretive) Study of Research and Development." Contained in the final report are several other sections which educators of and about the disadvantaged should find helpful including: exemplary programs, current research on social studies for and about the disadvantaged, and bibliographic data and abstracts of the reports surveyed during the study. Included in the PREP kit and this bulletin are the following documents: social studies curriculums, teaching strategies, media, teachers for and about the disadvantaged, recommendations to the education community, and a listing of selected references on the disadvantaged.

The research reported in this bulletin was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Grantees undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official position or policy of the Office of Education or the Texas Education Agency.

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I

SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUMS

Recently concern has mounted for developing social studies curriculums to teach students about the present role, status, and historical contributions of the disadvantaged in our society. Development of social studies for disadvantaged students appears, however, to have been an extension of concern for many of the types of students once labelled "slow" learners. Various characteristics now associated with disadvantaged learners previously have been ascribed to slow learners--low level cognitive performance (acquitision of knowledge and thinking skills), lack of interest in school, comparatively weak self-concept, and similar low-ranking traits. Thus frequently debated questions regarding slow learners or low-level achievers reappear in discussions of structure and organization of the curriculum for the disadvantaged.

Should a curriculum based upon a different conceptual organization be developed especially for disadvantaged students? If so, should educators attempt to teach these students less, that is cover fewer topics, deal with fewer concepts, or omit many details? If not, are compensatory or remedial programs needed to help disadvantaged students phase into the regular social studies curriculum? These questions are discussed in the following sections.

HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE DISCIPLINES

Some experimentation, research, and innovation have involved a single social science discipline or social studies course. The major objective may be a straightforward attempt to increase students' learning in a subject. Usually in such cases, information increment is sought (Edgar, 1966; Wilson, 1967);[1] but occasionally the objective is higher level cognitive learning

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[1]The studies cited are not included in this report; however, complete bibliographic data and abstracts are available in the Final Report of the project entitled "Social Studies and the Disadvantaged: Targeted Communication (Interpretive) Study of Research and Development." The Final Report has been entered into the ERIC system and is available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service.

involving analysis, application, synthesis, and evaluation (Muller, 1969). And frequently the learning of historic or social science information and methodological procedures are used as vehicles for bringing about attitude changes or other affective learning (Muller, 1969; Dow, 1969; Ashbaugh, 1967; Jones, 1965; Estes, 1966).

History

Most experimentation dealing with single disciplines has focused on history, particularly American history. Undoubtedly its standard offering in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades within the traditional curriculum helps to account for this. But the demands to give more attention to the historical contributions and contemporary status of minority groups, especially those groups toward which discrimination has been and continues to be directed, and from whose ranks a disproportionate number of disadvantaged students come to our public schools, can probably be most widely met within the traditional framework in American history programs. No doubt, too, the wide array of printed materials and audiovisual media facilitate attempted innovation. Hence, modifications of traditional curricular content or emphases can be achieved with minimum teacher in-service training and curriculum revision efforts.

The most prevalent innovation in social studies curriculums where history is the central or only discipline from which course content is drawn is the expansion of the scope of American history programs to include study of minority group contributions, status, and leaders. This has usually centered on the history of Negroes in the United States. Changes in teaching materials, spearheaded by the demands to include more attention to minorities in textbooks, appear to represent the bulk of efforts at modification. And here as in every other phase of research and experimentation related to social studies and the disadvantaged, precious little has been undertaken. A recent survey conducted by the U.S. Office of Education (Goff, 1969) indicates that just over one-half of the State departments of education had any type of material for teachers to provide guidelines for teaching about Negro history, and only a few additional States were planning or producing materials. None provided course outlines. Thus here, as in many other instances, the responsibility rests with local systems. Usually Negro history is integrated with already established programs at particular school or grade levels, although in the senior high school, especially at grade twelve, separate courses have been established.

One approach to including Negro history in the social studies curriculum is to develop short units or depth studies to be built into particular courses or grade levels (Edgar, 1966; Georgeoff, 1967; T. Smith, 1967). The success of such an approach depends heavily, as often found, on teacher readiness and competence to teach the new content which may require new materials and perhaps

new teaching procedures as well. When Smith attempted to insert Negro history content (and historical methodology) at each grade level from one to six, she found that, while teachers asked for daily lesson plans to guide their teaching, they varied considerably in actually utilizing the suggested teaching processes. Not only did they lack proficiency in using these processes, but their reactions also ranged from apathy to hesitancy, to even resentment at being involved in the attempted innovations. Involving teachers in planning for the innovation and making them aware of the research objectives and design help to maximize chances for success (Georgeoff, 1967; Ashbaugh, 1967; Muller, 1969). Indeed the researcher may then be confronted with the well-known "Hawthorne" or "halo" effect (Dooley, 1968), wherein the participants in the study perform at a higher level than they normally would simply because of involvement in an experiment.

The attitudes, anxieties, and fears possessed by individual teachers can significantly affect student learning regardless of teacher involvement in planning and implementing new curriculums designed to foster better self-concepts and racial understanding; and the effect is not necessarily in the direction expected. For example, Georgeoff found that participating Negro teachers in one city were more reluctant and less forceful and directive than white teachers in teaching an experimental unit of study on American Negro history. This reluctance stemmed from the Negro teachers' fear of white parent hostility.

When course content is extended to include new information about Negro leaders and the significance of their leadership roles, it does not adversely affect disadvantaged students' performance on more traditional achievement tests (Edgar, 1966; Muller, 1969). In fact, overall achievement in social studies may be enhanced (Muller, 1969). But usually the change in content is accompanied by the use of a greater variety of media and teaching approaches. In such cases it should not be concluded that Negro or other minority group history alone will cause students to see social studies as more relevant and to achieve greater knowledge gains.

Relevance, like beauty, lies in the eye of the beholder. What is perceived as relevant by one student or group otherwise similar may nevertheless vary greatly, and selective retention is apparently related to selective perception. For although students of different ethnic or racial backgrounds can learn historical information about American Negroes when incorporated into a specially designed program (Edgar, Georgeoff), students of a particular racial or ethnic group tend to score better on questions relating to role, contributions, and status of their own group as compared to other groups (Gustafson, 1957). What students retain after a fairly extensive time lapse subsequent to instruction depends, at least partly, on previously held attitudes. Readiness to learn about others and to retain what

is learned, then, varies among individuals not only in relation to intelligence, achievement, and other individual characteristics, but also by membership in particular ethnic, social, or other subgroups within the society. Of particular importance is Gustafson's finding that members of "the dominant white majority" (her classification) showed greater readiness to learn about others than did minority cultural groups.

In somewhat similar but much more extensive research linked to a fifth-grade curriculum project (Brzeinski, 1968), selective perception in learning about the historic and cultural contributions of minority groups again was a factor; and again Anglo (white) students achieved greater gains in learning about others than did Negro or Hispanic (Spanish-speaking and Latin American cultural background) students. But achievement varied from group to group according to the particular combination of media and teaching procedures included. As with other studies, despite the generally consistent knowledge gains, attitude changes were more variable. Again there was a tendency for a particular ethnic or racial group to have a better image of itself than other groups did. Here, too, specific combinations of media and teaching varied more widely in their effect on affective learning than on cognitive learning.

Neither of these studies controlled for socioeconomic status differences among students. In research where this factor was considered (Fisher, 1965), both race and socioeconomic status appeared to affect attitude change. Fifth-grade middle-class Negro students, as a group, exhibited significantly more positive attitude change toward American Indians than did middle-class Caucasian students when content about Indians was built into the social studies curriculum. While this appears to contradict previously cited studies, the studies are not strictly comparable. Other research has shown that lower-status whites compared to middle-status whites are less positive in their attitudes toward minorities. Various minority group members may similarly vary in their attitudes. If replication of this type research produces similar findings, then the difficulty of developing a social studies curriculum model for all students from different racial, ethnic, and perhaps socioeconomic backgrounds may be insurmountable.

Another dimension of the curricular interaction between affective and cognitive learning was evident in the experimentation carried out in Vallejo, California (Muller, 1969). In this instance teachers and project personnel planned new programs for grades five, eight, and eleven, basing their curriculum development on concepts identified by Price, Hickman and Smith in Major Concepts for the Social Studies and focusing on integrating contributions and history of minority social groups into the traditional American history curriculum at these grade levels. They worked with an integrated school population, and noted that, although the students attained significant knowledge gains and critical thinking skills gains, commensurate changes in actual intergroup behavior did not

follow. In fact while behavior for some students was changed in a positive direction, for most there was no change recorded; and in some cases, a decline in intergroup contacts was noted. Corresponding to research in related fields such as that of Easton, Hess, and Torney in political socialization, the Vallejo project found that less change was achieved in the affective domain along with lesser knowledge gains at the senior high school level. This was supported by teacher reactions to the success of the program which stratified along grade lines: fifth-grade teachers expressing the greatest satisfaction with the program and eleventh-grade teachers, the least. Additional support that positive attitudes can be developed toward particular disadvantaged groups by elementary students by specifically including "positive" content about the group is found in the Fisher study previously noted. In addition with children of this age, changes in attitudes apparently can be achieved without concomitant information gains.

Programs such as the Vallejo project are designed both to be used with disadvantaged students and to teach others about the disadvantaged. Other efforts have been directed at designing curriculums exclusively for use with disadvantaged students. Reading deficiency among disadvantaged students has been a major characteristic found in the descriptive literature. Calls for history curriculums that include materials with high interest and low readability requirements have bombarded school administrators, supervisors, project directors, and publishers for years. One approach, and the most pervasive one, is the attempt to maintain the traditional curriculum framework while cutting back on the volume and level of the reading component (Uphoff, 1967). Follett Publishing Company has been one of the companies particularly associated with this approach. Recent research involving the use of its programs in American and world history courses is not conclusive. In one instance (Wilson, 1967), the use of the Follett program with eleventh-grade low-IQ, poor achievers enrolled in American history brought only mixed achievement results (some students actually regressed) on standardized tests after 1 year of instruction--this--despite the fact that teachers reported satisfactory performance of students in class and on teacher-designated tests. A second study (Baines, 1968) conducted with tenth graders in world history recorded significant achievement gains for students using the Follett program, but a wide array of other media was also used along with the basic program materials, and denied to the control group. Any claim that the gains can be attributed to the basic Follett program is unwarranted.

Other publishers have joined this effort, among them Laidlaw Company. In this instance a more traditional textbook approach is used but the reading level is revised one or more grade levels below the standard text. In a study using Laidlaw's junior high text for slow readers written at a fifth-grade reading level (The Story of America), no improvement in student performance among seventh-grade inner-city slow readers was achieved (Guysenir, 1969). In all three of these research efforts, the basic history content remained in line with traditional practices.

When school systems have developed their own printed materials to meet their particular circumstances rather than adopting commercially available reading material, and particularly where audiovisual materials are also utilized, greater satisfaction with the program is reported (Uphoff). This, apparently, is characteristic of secondary school social studies and not just history programs for low achievers.

The interrelationship of content, media, and instructional procedures is obvious in a great deal of the reported research. Negative results in substituting reading materials for traditional texts led one research team (Guysenir) to conclude, first, that adoption and use of new social studies texts, with more appropriate reading levels, was not the answer; that basically negative attitudes toward learning among disadvantaged inner-city students had to be changed first. Second, a whole array of teaching materials and procedures is needed. Finally they concluded that the curriculum should focus on the present and on people and their actions. The first two points are supported by other research. Evidence for the last one is less clear, but is indicative of one trend in the social studies generally and social studies for the disadvantaged specifically: the deemphasis of history in the curriculum.

Some of the criticism leveled against the history component of social studies programs for disadvantaged students is supported by research indicating that for these students, even at the upper elementary level, the development of the sense of time and chronology is more difficult than for advantaged students (Foerster, 1968). The development of time concepts among advantaged students seems, at least in part, to be related to their greater verbal ability. If, then, disadvantaged students are expected to deal successfully with historical content emphasizing time and chronology, as so often is the case in many social studies programs beginning as early as the fourth grade, special materials and media as well as carefully sequenced instruction at the elementary level are clearly needed. (For suggestions along this line see Helen M. Carpenter, editor, Skill Development in the Social Studies, Thirty-third NCSS Yearbook, 1963). But as some critics have argued, regardless of whether time concepts can be learned, the cost in effort and time is not worth it. This question of priorities must be considered by those responsible for social studies curriculum decisions, particularly in maintaining or including historical content in an elementary program; for other research has indicated that the inclusion of graphic representations such as time-lines in texts and other visual aids will not necessarily bring greater learning even for advantaged students.

When historical content is included for disadvantaged students, it would seem most appropriate to stress developments, changes, ideas, personalities, and issues that give a here-and-now quality to the students' study rather than the when-did-it-happen and in-what-order quality typical of some courses and programs.

Social Sciences

One of the major trends in social studies education is the inclusion of social science content, concepts, and methodology earlier, even in the beginning years of students' school experience. Frequently the "new social studies" deal with people or processes apparently far removed from the disadvantaged students' world of reality. Some critics of the new social studies therefore have argued that, while the development of curriculums along these lines might be appropriate for many students, it is not appropriate for disadvantaged students for a reason similar to that cited in support of the call for deemphasizing history: a lack of here-and-now orientation. Additionally, language and reading skills development, attainment of mathematical concepts, and arithmetical computation skills and other learnings have been cited as having priority. Disadvantaged children even at the kindergarten level as well as those enrolled in higher elementary grades can learn structured anthropology content and sometimes at rates equal to those for more advantaged students when using the essentially didactic strategies employed in Marion Rice's Anthropology Curriculum Project (Greene, 1966; Thomas, 1967; Hunt, 1969). In Rice's project heavy emphasis is placed upon attainment of and ability to use vocabulary associated with social science. The instruction is designed in units of fairly short duration (3 to 6 weeks) for sequential development at succeeding grade levels. Other instructional strategies can also be utilized to achieve anthropological learnings. Disadvantaged fifth-grade students are able to learn conceptually oriented material at a rate similar to that for more advantaged peers when a variety of media and activities are provided in an essentially inductive and student-centered program. Student reactions to the nearly full-year course, Educational Development Center's Man: A Course of Study, differ little regardless of whether they are from inner-city or more advantaged suburban communities. Correspondingly, teachers report favorably on the course's impact on less able students.

Young disadvantaged students are also able to understand sophisticated economic concepts at least at some low level of abstraction. Comparing three experimental programs with a traditional social studies program for first grade, Spears (1967) found that after 17 weeks of instruction all three experimental groups outperformed those students in the traditional program. The three experiemtnal programs included (1) a revision of the traditional program; (2) a pilot program DEEP, developed by the Joint Council on Economic Education; and (3) Our Working World: Families at Work developed by Lawrence Senesh. None of the programs appeared to be superior to the others as measured by student performance. And while the students enrolled in the programs did achieve knowledge gains, they apparently were unable to apply their new knowledge with much greater ability than those students in the regular program. The first-grade classes

in Spears' study included middle and lower socioeconomic status students; and not surprisingly, he found that the middle-class students out-performed the lower-status students.

Without differentiating socioeconomic status, Larkins (1968) found that first graders scoring at least 6 months below grade norms on ability tests still could achieve significant gains in learning some of the concepts in the Senesh Families at Work program. And in another experiment at the fourth-grade level with rural disadvantaged students, Dooley (1968) reports success using two different experimental programs: Our Working World: Cities at Work (the Senesh program originally designed for third-grade students) and Elementary School Economics I (authored by German and others, for William Rader's University of Chicago Industrial Relations Center project). Dooley classifies the Senesh program as deductive or information-providing and the Rader program as inductive or question-raising. Students enrolled in both programs scored learning gains, but those in the Rader program did significantly better on an economics achievement test than did those in the Senesh program. Whether this results from the teaching strategies employed is not certain and the programs are not strictly comparable. Nevertheless, the evidence points to the tentative conclusion that economics as well as anthropology can be incorporated into the social studies curriculum for disadvantaged students.

Geography, unlike anthropology and economics, has had a much longer tenure in social studies curriculums, but relatively little research dealing with disadvantaged students' ability to learn geographic concepts, information, and skills has been attempted to date. Earlier studies, without distinguishing between disadvantaged and other youth, have shown that young children's interest in and even knowledge about people and places far removed in time and space was much greater than educators and others had thought. More recently, in a study of disadvantaged kindergarten children's understanding of earth-sun relationships, directions, spatial relationships, and other geographic knowledge, Portugaly (1967) found that disadvantaged Negro inner-city students could, at this early age, develop basic geographic concepts when manipulative activities for them were carefully selected and sequenced. She also found that these students could successfully use some basic tools of the discipline and could deal with various models, replicas, and other manipulative devices. A similar finding is reported by Imperatore (1969). In this instance in comparing the performance of small town and rural disadvantaged Negro kindergarten students with that of more advantaged students in learning and verbalizing geographic concepts, the researcher found that, while the higher socioeconomic status students outperformed lower-status students, the lower-status Negro student nevertheless could make significant gains in geographic understandings. The instruction was didactically oriented and, as in Portugaly's study, very carefully structured. If disadvantaged

children can master geographic knowledge at the age of 5 or 6, there appears to be little reason why an appropriate sequentially designed program extending into the elementary and secondary grades cannot be developed.

Indeed, some other recent groundbreaking research undertaken with primary grade children (involving some disadvantaged, but including a cross-section of racial, socioeconomic and IQ groups) offers promise in this direction (Charlotte Crabtree, Teaching Geography in Grades One through Three: Effects of Instruction in the Core Concept of Geographic Theory, Los Angeles, University of California, 1968). Young children are able to learn key geographic concepts and skills and apply them successfully to new situations through carefully sequenced activities involving selective observations of geographic features, classification of data, analysis of interaction and causality in geographic distributions, formulation of hypotheses and generalizations, testing of hypotheses, and finally, the drawing of inferences about the meaning of the verified geographic knowledge. This program is much more extensive than either of those reported by Portugaly or Imperatore, and is more inductive and inquiry-oriented than Imperatore's. Still, the programs are similar in that they involve precise sequencing and structuring of content.

Teachers and curriculum supervisors have available to them guidelines for developing a sequential program from the NCSS Yearbook on Skill Development in the Social Studies (especially pages 148-169 and 322-325). The development of a schoolwide and systemwide program beginning in kindergarten and the primary grades is essential if, as researchers have found, school is the main source of geographic information for young disadvantaged children and since learning in this discipline is a possibility at even the earliest public school levels.

Little research with regard to instruction for disadvantaged students in other social science disciplines such as political science and sociology has been conducted or at least reported. However, several studies have been undertaken in what is traditionally labeled civic education, involving elements of law, political science, and sociology. While most curriculum development efforts of this type have been directed at the secondary level, research concerned with the process of socialization have pointed to the importance of early childhood experiences. For example, Hess and Torney (1967) reported that lower socioeconomic status Caucasian children compared to higher status children in elementary school (grades two to eight); (1) feel more powerless and less able to participate or be effective in political participation; (2) have a more personalized, less abstract view of government; (3) perceive laws as more rigid and binding; (4) express interest in politics; and (5) participate less in political discussions. At lease some of these findings are true for very

young children regardless of status, as compared to older children. However, low-status children hold these feelings until a much older age and some never move beyond them.

In a later study conducted among Caucasians and Negroes, Hess (1969) reports the following differences associated with status and race: (1) marked decline among older Negro children, particularly lower socioeconomic status boys, in their attitudes toward authority figures, most especially policemen; (2) tendency among lower-status children to see compliance systems (family, school, police) as reinforcing one another in concentric fashion, with family and schools sanctioning other authorities; (3) greater likelihood among lower-status children to see their families as more democratic in establishing rules, and for Negro children as they grow older to see their mother's role as one of increasing importance in the compliance system; (4) Negro children perceive more frequently than Caucasian students that parents' punitive power is used to reinforce compliance to school rules and authorities, and this is apparently more related to the Negro youth's classroom behavior; (5) Negro girls display more political interest than boys, and for Negro youth in general political interest coincides with greater cooperation with teachers. Schnepf (1966) also found that relatively favorable attitudes toward police noted among second-grade Negro children declined with increasing age. The researcher argued that, since second grade was the last time formal instruction related to police, law, and the legal system was provided for the students in her study, revisions were required in the school program. None of these studies, however, reports on attempts to change these attitudes through instruction.

That young children tend to "personify" social relationships, various institutions, and processes was also reported in a study of kindergarten children's perception of people with different racial and cultural characteristics (Neidell, 1965). Children tended to classify and stereotype Orientals and Negroes according to their own and frequently very limited personal contacts. But by providing in-school experiences with adult representatives of these two minority groups in a variety of roles, stereotyped reactions were reduced. Thus the importance of very early instruction in sociological and political knowledge, institutions, and processes is obvious not only in teaching disadvantaged students, but also in teaching others about the disadvantaged.

Although some researchers argue that civic education in elementary grades, particularly the primary grades (K-three), is crucial in developing knowledge about and conceptions of self, others, and the society, other research provides little help in pinpointing how children's conceptions and attitudes limit or aid the learning of specific information and conceptual understanding with regard to social phenomena such as the problems of law and the role of law in our society (Grannis, 1967).

Individuál characteristics of children's thinking about social phenomena may be more integrated with attitudes, beliefs, and conceptualization patterns than frequently supposed, and hence less amenable to change by virture of specific instruction than some educators believe. This does not mean that a well-designed curriculum utilizing a variety of instructional procedures and media, and teachers committed to and trained in using the innovative practices and materials, cannot bring about significant learning in disadvantaged students. And despite the doubt expressed by Hess and Torney for achieving significant results at the secondary level, research indicates that major learning about political and social phenomena does take place even in the last years of secondary school (Ratcliffe, 1969). Fifth through twelfth-grade inner-city students are able to make major gains in their understanding of and attitude toward the nature, role, and application of law in American society. The key to successful instruction appears to lie in the training of teachers utilizing the inquiry oriented case study, multimedia, and multiactivity curriculums.

Other research, while less extensive, tends to support this finding. Jones (1965) found that by using a case-study approach with eighth-graders he could bring about a greater understanding of and more positive attitudes toward the Bill of Rights. A surprising finding, perhaps, was that lower IQ students actually changed their attitudes to a greater extent than did higher IQ students. In one instance, a minority group (Mexican-Americans), while exhibiting the least gain in information, showed the greatest positive changes in attitudes toward the Bill of Rights. This latter finding is not, however, completely supported by other research using the same case study procedure for teaching about the Bill of Rights. Estes (1966) found that favorable attitudes toward the Bill of Rights principles and tolerance of various minority groups and individuals could be increased among twelfth-grade students by studying key Supreme Court decisions through the use of simulation, role-playing, and case studies; but that attitudes were affected by religious convictions, socioeconomic background, and race. Highly religious students displayed somewhat less tolerance of others and less agreement with the Bill of Rights. Working- or lower-class students displayed similar but even stronger negative values and attitudes, as did members of racial minorities. Thus specific instruction relating to the principles associated with American democracy as found in the Bill of Rights had most effect for middle-class Caucasian students, and least value for lower-status, minority students. One can conclude that, while civic education can be undertaken even late in secondary school years, it appears to have a greater chance for success if begun at earlier grade levels.

Summary and Implications

History, traditionally a dominant component of the social studies curriculum, has lately been stressed as a vehicle for teaching disadvantaged students both about themselves and others

and for teaching more advantaged students about the less advantaged. It is not clear whether innovators of ethnic studies prefer history as more suitable than other subjects or choose it because it is so widely required in schools. Usually such efforts have aimed at imparting information and fostering positive attitudes about oneself (on the part of the disadvantaged) and about others (among both disadvantaged and advantaged students). The success of such programs varies widely. Frequently knowledge gains can be achieved. Less frequently documented is success in developing positive attitudes or better intergroup relations. This is due at least in part to difficulty in measuring attitudinal or behavioral changes. And the achievement of specific program objectives is dependent upon a host of variables: social studies content; materials and media; instructional procedures; student ability and attitudes; teacher preparation, attitudes, and involvement; school facilities and organization; and community attitudes and values, particularly where attitudinal objectives are sought. For now, it can be noted that knowledge gains are easier to achieve, or at least measure, than the development of positive intergroup attitudes.

Research also supports the change of traditional history content from a chronological and time-concept orientation dealing with institutions and broad movements, to focus upon people and particular issues and events that help to give a you-are-there quality. Disadvantaged students can more easily identify with the latter and see a relevance to their own lives.

The second implication of recent research is that either inductively or didactically arranged subject matter can be learned by the disadvantaged. They can learn specific social concepts and facts even early in the elementary years when content is carefully planned and sequenced, and used by adequately trained teachers. Much of this content, particularly in anthropology and economics, has previously been reserved for the secondary school curriculum. And some of it has never before been incorporated into programs for any students in the public school, let alone disadvantaged students. The question is, if disadvantaged students can learn it, should they? The answer will vary no doubt with factors such as cost or availability of materials, competency of teachers, and other considerations. If the inclusion of this social science content enables students to gain a greater sense of self-identity and empathy for others, or provides them with analytical tools, concepts, and data by which they both understand and make sense out of their physical and cultural environment, then the answer certainly seems affirmative.

A third implication relates to a goal of long standing in social studies instruction: civic competence. New content drawn from the field of law has been incorporated and more traditional history and political science content has been restructured into the social studies curriculum. Here again the innovation has

extended into the elementary grades and here, as with new history programs, objectives frequently include both knowledge gains and attitudinal changes. Here too, knowledge objectives seem more consistently documented than attitudinal ones.

INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES

Reporting of research and its implications up to this point has centered on efforts basically within single social science disciplines, such as anthropology and history, or particular courses or programs such as civics or civic education. Frequently innovations along this line involve units of instruction lasting for a period of several weeks at succeeding grade levels. This is the case with Marion Rice's Anthropology Curriculum Project (Greene, 1966; Potterfield, 1966; Thomas, 1967; Hunt, 1969) and William Rader's Elementary School Economics Project (Dooley, 1968). Other curriculum efforts have developed a full-year course such as the Educational Development Center's Man: A Course of Study (Dow, 1969).

Additional significant efforts incorporate a more interdisciplinary approach. That is, concepts and content from several social studies and history are incorporated into the social studies curriculum at a particular grade level or span several grade or school levels. Several studies previously cited, while focusing upon or using as an organizing center a single discipline, are actually interdisciplinary. For example, the Vallejo School District Project--although largely organized around American history at grades five, eight, and eleven--actually incorporates an interdisciplinary conceptual orientation (Muller, 1969). Certainly civic education or civics programs frequently involve strands from several of the social sciences.

Another characteristic of the studies reported thus far is that the studies were carried out during the regular school year within the normal school or curriculum organizational patterns. Efforts involving interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary, or the combining of social studies instruction with instruction in other school subjects, sometimes go beyond the regular school program. Title I programs typify this approach wherein special instruction is provided to compensate for the disadvantagement that many students face in competing with more advantaged students. Such a program in Kansas City, Missouri, involved both elementary and secondary students (Wheeler, 1968). The elementary social studies program focused on the overall theme of "My Community and Me." At the kindergarten and primary grade levels the specific topics apparently followed traditional trends in that the family was the major focus of study. The middle and upper elementary grades programs focused on cities and city services. More formal and traditional courses were included for ninth- and tenth-grade students. Traditional textbooks were abandoned; curriculums and instructional materials were designed at the individual classroom or grade level in each school. Apparently teachers

were expected to follow the general theme and subtopics outlined by project planners, but were given a great deal of latitude in selecting, designing, and sequencing specific materials, experiences, and procedures. Teachers generally reported favorably on their own feelings toward the program and the apparent effectiveness of the program. Student interest also was reportedly high. However, achievement test scores indicated no measurable gains. Whether the achievement test actually measured what was taught is questionable. Another factor is the apparent wide latitude given individual schools and teachers in designing their own instructional programs. Individualizing or tailoring instruction undoubtedly has advantages, but evaluating results of such efforts is complicated. Almost all of the positive research findings have come from much more tightly organized and controlled instructional situations. In fact, while there has been a good bit of "trying out" related to social studies and the disadvantaged students in Title I and other such programs, little research data are available beyond impressions of teachers involved in the programs. Where achievement tests and attitude inventories and other evaluation devices were used, the results have not always supported these impressionistic judgments. It seems clear from this fact that school systems are well advised to include an adequate testing and evaluation dimension in an innovative program or run the risk of deceiving themselves abou the actual outcomes of the program.

A less extensive, but more controlled developmental curriculum innovation was undertaken by the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, school system. It achieved significant gains in both social studies achievement and pupil attitudes (Ashbaugh, 1967). Supervisors and teachers developed their own new seventh-grade course of study which included historical, anthropological, and other social science content. The course surveyed the Western civilization with an emphasis on cultural universals, such as food and shelter, and on institutions such as families, government and art forms. The students enrolled were from inner-city neighborhoods, although not all were necessarily disadvantaged.

A promising approach has been advocated in recent years is the development of a social studies curriculum that covers less content but treats selected topics much more intensively. Success in using such a curriculum design is reported by Gornick (1967). Revising fourth- and sixth-grade courses to reduce content coverage and devoting greater attention to significant concepts, generalizations, and principles drawn from six social sciences enabled lower IQ students to make greater gains than higher IQ students. Observers' subjective impressions noted higher levels of motivation and enthusiasm among less able students.

Implications

Even though there are only limited data regarding the success of interdisciplinary social studies programs among disadvantaged

at this time, there are numerous proposals, programs, and projects underway with an interdisciplinary approach. Available research frequently documents success among more advantaged students, and some research findings indicate a likely favorable result in this regard with disadvantaged students. Particularly encouraging is the finding that lower IQ students achieve significant learning gains when coverage of content is reduced in favor of treating in depth a smaller number of topics and concepts, whether incorporated into a single disciplinary or interdisciplinary approach. Professional journals contain frequent criticism of social studies programs that survey a vast number of topics in cursory fashion. Research seems to indicate that this is a particularly well-founded criticism with regard to curriculums for disadvantaged students.

SOCIAL STUDIES COMBINED WITH OTHER SCHOOL SUBJECTS

One approach in developing a curriculum for disadvantaged students involves designing social studies programs and courses that draw from several of the social sciences. Another approach is to combine, fuse, or teach social studies in conjunction with other school subjects. Reported efforts are directed at the secondary school level where separate subjects taught by individual departments is the predominant practice as contrasted to the elementary level where self-contained classrooms with a single teacher teaching all or most subjects is the predominant pattern. Sometimes this approach is aimed at knowledge gains, but invariably it also involves attitudinal objectives, particularly improvement of the disadvantaged students' self image. In some instances social studies instruction is used as a vehicle for improving achievement in particular skills such as reading. Here again the degree of success varies widely, depending on community and school factors.

In the past, curriculum patterns have combined in some fashion social studies and English or language arts instruction. This approach is still being experimented with in programs geared especially to the disadvantaged. For example, one school system combined English and government courses for low-achievement students, reducing emphasis on reading and incorporating more student-centered activities. Teachers observed and students themselves indicated improvement in their attitudes and interests toward school; but as frequently happens, the achievement gains--in this case in social studies and reading--were not particularly outstanding in comparison to students' performance in traditional courses (Murray, 1968)

More positive results were recorded in a 6-week summer experimental program for culturally and bilingually disadvantaged high school students. Some students participated in both a social studies and a communications or language arts course; others attended only social studies classes. All students participated

in tutorial sessions and attended cultural events. Content for the social studies courses was drawn from the behavioral sciences and stressed self-identity and self-improvement in one course and the role of individuals in the larger society in the other. Courses were specially structured for students who had difficulty with the English language. As a result of the program, student attitudes about themselves, school, and society became more positive; and while very little improvement was attained in vocabulary and reading performance, substantial gains were made on a general achievement test (Gold, 1968).

A somewhat similar effort in combining, or at least teaching in a cooperative fashion, social studies and English, and including activities in music and art, brought about significant attitude changes in previously unsuccessful high school students coming largely from low-income families (Funderburk, 1968).

Even broader curricular correlations have been attempted. Instruction in social studies, language arts, and science have been coordinated within 3-hour blocks of time for seventh-grade disadvantaged white and Negro students (Young, 1967). Actually the entire organization of the curriculum was reshaped for the experiment. Substantial gains were reported not only in social studies but also across the board on a general achievement test. In fact, some students were able to score above national norms. However, it was found that those students with the lowest levels of achievement recorded prior to entering the new program derived least benefit from it. That is, they were less likely to score major gains as a result of the revised program. This implies that an even more radical departure in curriculum organization and instructional procedures is needed. Adjustments and minor revisions may work for the "fringe area" disadvantaged, but undoubtedly, this does not meet the needs and the problems of the "hard core" disadvantaged.

For example, students who come from families where Spanish rather than English is the primary language of oral communication and where low socioeconomic status and cultural differences complicate the educational task still further do not succeed very well as a group in school. Frequently, they give up and drop out of school. While language is a problem, so too is the fact that their families' cultural backgrounds are at variance with the dominant American culture. Yet very little experimental research has been reported regarding social studies curriculum design relevant to the needs of these students. Designing programs to overcome both language deficiency and the lack of socialization or adjustment to the dominant American culture can cut the dropout rate substantially among secondary school-aged youth such as Mexican-Americans who face language and culture barriers (Miller, 1967). But a recent survey of schools in one Southwestern State indicates that social studies is one of the least emphasized curriculum areas in the schools which teach

children of agricultural migrant workers. Many of these youths undoubtedly face the dual problems of English deficiency and cultural adjustment. Despite this, school authorities apparently believe that social studies is the least difficult subject area for migrant children (Scott, 1968).

Implications

Clearly, one avenue of further development and research that needs to be taken is the designing of social studies programs related to minority group cultures. Much is now becoming available in the area of Negro history and culture, but far too little is available about other minority groups. A second possible avenue of exploration is the development of comparative culture programs that lead students to examine basic similarities and differences in political, social, and economic institutions and processes in both parent and American cultures. Most traditional social studies curriculums are not designed in this way, and commerical publishers offer little in this area. Nor are major current social studies curriculum projects concerned with the task. It will remain for local systems, States, and especially funded Federal projects such as those dealing broadly with education for the disadvantaged, or more narrowly conceived efforts centering upon developments of programs for migrant or Indian youth, to tailor programs to the specific needs of selected groups. Using slow learner materials and various components of a black studies program for a mixed group of disadvantaged Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Indians, or white Appalachian youth scarcely has the same potential in learning achievement for each of the groups involved.

Among those schools that have reported on their efforts, the greatest success seems to come where programs have been designed in relation to local conditions and ethnic groups. And while reports on the combining of instructional efforts in social studies and some other subject areas are more numerous at the secondary level, a similar effort exists at the elementary level, particularly in projects and programs under Title I funding. But research dealing with a more cross-disciplinary approach is sparse. Far too few single out social studies for specific reporting. Nevertheless, for many disadvantaged students, especially bilingual students and those who possess a dual-cultural background, the development of an integrated curriculum that combines elements of one or more school subjects with dual culturally oriented social studies instruction seems a viable approach.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CURRICULUM REVISION AND DEVELOPMENT

Despite the fact that research has only infrequently accompanied curriculum development efforts related to social studies and the disadvantaged, available data do have significant implications and do provide a basis for some recommendations.

Curriculums for Disadvantaged Students

History as a vehicle provides disadvantaged students with information about themselves as a group and about cultural contributions that they as a group or individuals representative of the group have made. This is usually done within American history and culture courses rather than world history or special area studies programs. Such courses are found at the elementary, junior high, and senior high levels--typically, grade levels four-five, seven-eight, and eleven. Objectives are both cognitive and affective with knowledge acquisition invariably tied to efforts to improve self-concepts and group-concepts. Sometimes programs are designed to develop favorable attitudes towards others within a group, towards particular minority groups, or towards other disadvantaged groups.

Acquisition of knowledge is emphasized in social studies curriculum innovations more often than changes in attitudes. Positive changes in self-image are more often attained than changes in attitudes toward others. Disadvantaged students usually show less positive attitude development toward others that do the nondisadvantaged. This, however, varies with particular topics of study and specific local situations. Newly gained knowledge and attitudes both about one's own group and particularly about others are fragile. Unless subsequently reinforced, new learning can be largely lost within a year or less.

When revising or designing a social studies curriculum for disadvantaged students that will include a separate history component, the following recommendations seem pertinent:

1. Deemphasize time and chronology, particularly in the elementary grades.

2. Focus on situations and personalities more than on broad movements and institutions.

3. Attempt to provide a you-are-there or here-and-now quality with which students can identify.

4. Include less breadth but more depth on a fewer number of significant topics.

5. For Mexican-Americans, Indians, or other students who have a dual-cultural background, provide opportunities beginning in the elementary school for them to study both the parent and American cultures, emphasizing major points of commonality and difference.

6. Beginning in the elementary grades, include a balanced study of the historical and current contributions, role, and status of various minority groups in American society. The current

emphasis on Black Studies is helping to correct the imbalance that has pervaded and continues to exist in the curriculum. But Negro as well as other American youth need to learn about other minority groups. Various minority groups, especially Hispanic- and Indian-Americans, have been and are being neglected in social studies programs.

One of the trends in social studies education is the attempt to include in the curriculum, even early in the elementary program, social science concepts, information, and inquiry procedures. Some experimental work has been carried on with disadvantaged students. Research indicates that disadvantaged students of various socio-economic, racial or ethnic backgrounds can learn this new content. Several of the major curriculum projects have reported success with single discipline--oriented programs such as anthropology, economics, or law. Some schools have reported similar success with integrated or interdisciplinary programs. While either is a viable alternative, those curriculum projects with focus on a single social science usually develop a single short unit (4 to 6 weeks of classwork) at succeeding grade levels. Additional curriculum components may, therefore, need to be designed or adopted. Recommendations based on these findings include:

1. Develop a conceptually and sequentially organized curriculum. Do not assume that disadvantaged students cannot deal with social science concepts or big ideas. They can if given carefully and sequentially designed programs that maximize opportunities for success along each step of the curriculum. Because of limited cultural opportunities, disadvantaged students rely more on evidence of specific learning gains than do more advantaged students.

2. Confrontational material used as a basis for a realistic analysis of conflicting values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors in American society can form an important element in the social studies program for disadvantaged students. But such materials or episodes are best used judiciously and with sufficient attention to the development of adequate skills and background knowledge and a thorough and balanced treatment of the conflicts involved. Sporadic or shotgun treatment can possibly lead to the development of negative attitudes and negative behavior toward others. Avoid "hardsell" programs that create feelings of hostility among disadvantaged students toward more advantaged members of American society.

3. Design a sequential K-12 social studies skills program that reinforces previous learning. Appropriate skills involve maps and globes, time and chronological relationships, and inquiry procedures associated with specific social science disciplines.

Some school systems, faced with a problem such as English language deficiency of bilingually disadvantaged students, choose to reorganize their curriculums for disadvantaged students at the secondary level across traditional subject lines. Most frequently this fusion or coordination includes social studies and English or reading, communication, or language skills achievement or improved self-concepts. The reported efforts of this type are locally developed to meet specific local needs; however, such an approach seems to be applicable elsewhere with bilingually disadvantaged and others with a dual cultural background. In such cases the coordination of social studies, language arts, reading, and possibly other subjects such as art and music may be begun in the primary grades. Thus the adoption of major social studies projects' curriculums and materials may not be the most appropriate in these instances--at least not without significant modifications.

Teaching Others About the Disadvantaged

Beyond the quality and effectiveness of a social studies curriculum designed for disadvantaged students, more adequate provision should be made for teaching advantaged students about the subcultures and historical background of various disadvantaged groups. Additionally, both disadvantaged and advantaged students should be given opportunities in school to consider the problems and issues confronting American society precisely because they involve both groups. Treatment of these problems and issues can be appropriately handled through open, reflective, inquiring teaching procedures. This requires specific instruction in issue analysis rather than a random treatment on "current events day." Concentrated "hardsell" instruction delayed until the secondary school years not only may be inappropriate, but also runs the risk of creating or reinforcing hostility. In particular local situations even indirect efforts to improve intergroup relations can bring about the reverse of what curriculum designers and teachers intend. Anxiety, fear, and hostility are the natural outcomes of perceived threats to jobs, housing, and personal status or security. Correspondingly, local school authorities and teachers should study their own local conditions carefully before deciding on appropriate curriculum innovations or refinements. This does not mean that schools should use the risk of failure as an excuse for doing nothing in the way of curriculum revision. Too many schools, seemingly far removed from the problems faced by other schools in disadvantaged areas, have refused to recognize that they too share responsibility for teaching about the disadvantaged. That responsibility includes developing in their students a willingness to accept the dignity and worth of individuals regardless of differences in racial or physical characteristics and cultures or life-styles.

As with teaching disadvantaged students, teaching others about the disadvantaged occurs most commonly in American history courses at both the elementary and secondary levels. Middle-class, white students usually but not always appear to be willing to learn about others, and frequently as a result of instruction will change their attitudes, in a more favorable direction, toward minority groups. Still, success is more often documented in knowledge attainment than in actual attitude or behavior change. And newly acquired learning, unless reinforced, can easily be lost within months.

Recommendations for developing or revising social studies curriculums to teach others about the disadvantaged are:

1. Design a sequential K-12 curriculum incorporating the study of a range of peoples and cultures and utilizing a comparative culture study approach.

2. Beginning in the lower grades, encourage and provide opportunities for contracts through the use of pupil assignment, classroom visitors, various media, and actual classroom and school intergroup activities. But superficial and fleeting intergroup contacts may serve only to reinforce or create stereotypes.

3. Include confrontational materials or episodes in programs aimed at fostering positive intergroup attitudes, but these are best selected in light of particular local conditions as well as national priorities, and require both a thorough and balanced treatment of the issues involved. Curriculum components that primarily develop feelings of guilt among advantaged students do not appear to serve the objective.

4. Revise American history courses to include attention to the cultural contributions, role, and status of various minority groups throughout our history.

5. Include in world history, world geography, or other world studies programs a more adequate and balanced treatment of the historical and cultural backgrounds of various American ethnic groups.

6. Where local circumstances make it impractical to deal directly with particular issues or problems, introduce a similar issue or problem in other cultures (e.g., race relations in Brazil or South Africa, tribal relations in Nigeria.).

II

TEACHING STRATEGIES

Induction, deduction, multiactivity, simulation, interaction activities--the labels of methodologies fly at teachers, supervisors, and parents. How easy for all of us if it were possible to give a student an injection of American history, civics, or geography and how painless for him. Alas, this is not the case; at least not until 1984 or The Brave New World. Even if this painless injection were possible is this the way Americans should be educated? Or are there values and information that can only be gained by interaction with others?

Methodologies used with disadvantaged students parallel those used with all students. The pattern of strategies revealed in the paragraphs to follow shows that some methods are destined to fail with the disadvantaged learner and that none guarantees academic success or attitude change. But dents are beginning to show in the wall that seems to separate the disadvantaged from school success. While not all the answers are in, headway is being made by individual researchers, program developers, and school districts.

INDUCTIVE-DEDUCTIVE STRATEGIES

Perhaps because of the emphasis brought about by the new social studies over the past 10 years, the focus of experimentation seems to be on inductive teaching methodologies. This is not to say that there are a great number of strictly inductive studies and few deductive studies. The number of both is relatively small, and only one study attempts to compare inductive versus deductive learning.

One of the problems confronted in this study was how to identify inductive and deductive instruction in the studies surveyed. The differences between the two methodologies are not as clearly drawn as, for example, between simulation techniques and textbook approaches. For the purpose of this description, inductive strategies are considered those that begin with questions identified by the teacher of the student, and the student then proceeds to gather information to answer the questions and to generalize on the basis of the information that

was found. On the other hand, deductive strategies begin with a certain body of information relayed by the teacher or a teaching device such as a textbook or a film. Another element to be considered is that many of the studies selected as inductive were identified by the word unit. The reason for this is that units often start with questions to be answered, usually after study and investigation by students; whereas, deductive strategies begin with information from a source, and the student's role is to understand the conclusions presented or to prove the validity of the information rather than to generalize on the basis of the information.

Even though the content of the two types of materials was not precisely equivalent, Dooley (1968) found that inductive materials led to greater knowledge gains in Negro elementary children than in white children. Another investigator found that low intelligence students made high information gains and showed high levels of interest and enthusiasm--always a concern of the teachers of disadvantaged pupils. Because inductive teaching strategies require student activity, less content can be covered in a given amount of time than with deductive strategies (Gornick, 1967). Often, there is preoccupation with the idea of covering the materials. Is covering the materials the same as learning? Is it really necessary for all students to cover the same material? Is it not possible that disadvantaged students should be exposed to materials that differ from that offered to the average and above-average student? Often it seems that school programs are so concerned with the bright child and the college-bound student that the disadvantaged youngster who does not fit into this pattern of aspiration is ignored.

Inquiry methodology is considered more time-consuming than deductive strategies. Still, a survey by Cheyney (1966) reveals that teachers using a unit-project method believed that their students learned more and remembered that content longer than when taught using a deductive (textbook) method. Using experimental materials and teacher training in inquiry-oriented methodology, Ratcliffe (1969) reported significant information gains and attitude changes with upper elementary and junior high age students. Their teachers used the experimental materials and a variety of teaching strategies, most of which would be classified as inductive.

On the other hand Fisher (1965) found that elementary students learned when using deductive strategies--text reading, and text reading plus discussion. The greater information gains occurred when the students discussed what they had read. Attitude gains occured with both groups, which implies that reading alone can have distinctive positive effects on attitudes.

Increased knowledge gain on the part of elementary pupils occurred with the use of anthropology and geography units

(Potterfield, 1966; Green, 1966; Hunt, 1969; and Imperatore, 1969). Each of these units was designed to be taught in a didactic fashion through a highly structured sequence of learning activities. When using an elementary program (Our Working World: Families at Work), classified by Dooley as deductive in nature, Spears (1967) found that low socioeconomic class pupils made greater knowledge gains than did those pupils participating in the school district's conventional social studies program.

One method cannot be endorsed over another because most inquiry approaches contain elements of deduction. Several authorities writing in the field of elementary social studies advocate neither induction nor deduction, but believe a combination of strategies is necessary.

Most youngsters, particularly elementary age youngsters, are going to learn while they are in school. The question is, what strategies seem to be most efficient with disadvantaged students? Obviously, if students are continually engaged in inductive study, the amount of information to which they are exposed will be reduced. Many consider that the most efficient way to transmit information is to tell the information. However, when long-term gains, retention of information, and interest are important (and they are particularly important with disadvantaged youngsters), the teacher and program planner might do well to sacrifice the large volume of social studies information input with disadvantaged youngsters and concentrate on what information is most useful to him, using teaching strategies that will result in long-term information gain and retention.

INTERACTION STRATEGIES

Interaction between student and teacher or student and student seems almost a constant element in any instructional strategies. There is interaction in media, gaming, induction, role playing, questioning, and in practically every teaching strategy except those that isolate this interaction in order to serve another purpose. Interaction may bring about positive or negative changes in cognition and/or attitudes.

Portugaly (1967) when working with kindergarten children did all teaching via manipulative devices and methods such as storytelling, dramatics, games, and riddles. There are tremendous amounts of different types of interaction continually occurring among kindergartners. When using the materials Man: A Course of Study (Dow, 1969), observers noted that teachers talked less as the course proceeded and student dialog and teacher-student dialog increased. In fact, the concept of conveying information to students had to give way to student-teacher and student-student interaction. This resulted in positive cognitive gains. The length of discussions and choice

of leader may be a factor in their effectiveness. When evaluating instruction including the television presentation "One Nation Indivisible" (Whitala, 1968) that stressed degrees of student involvement, the researchers found that male teachers seemed to simulate more controversy and emotion than female teachers. It was also found that the most effective discussions became less effective as they decreased in time. Brzeinski (1968) found in conducting studies with multiple groups that those groups that engaged in social activities (not specifically described, but implying interaction) with other treatments, scored higher than groups without this interaction. While no specific data were reported, Estes (1966) found that role-playing increased students' tolerance toward minorities and social isolates and resulted in increased cognitive gain.

A report of a summer seminar in Milwaukee (Ashbaugh, 1968) stated that, after groups of high school students both black and white were brought together to "meet each other and learn about the patterns that constitute prejudice," students showed a more negative view of blacks with little or no change in the views of whites. On the other hand, Fisher (1965) reported that, when using a strategy of reading and discussion versus reading only, only the reading and discussion groups showed positive attitude changes toward the minority group studied (American Indians). Fisher also reported that if a positive change in cognition is to result discussion must also accompany reading.

In view of the above studies, it appears that interaction was reported in a number of studies with favorable results; and regardless of their school level, students generally and many teachers regard interaction favorably. Reading only and watching telecasts only do not increase cognition to the extent that these activities coupled with considerable interaction do. While the sex of the discussion leader may be a factor in the effectiveness of the discussion, it is probable that--with training in discussion-leading skills, increased confidence, plus openness toward critical appraisal of opinions--the teacher can learn to be effective in these techniques.

MULTIACTIVITY STRATEGIES

Most studies of disadvantaged stude.ts involve a combination of varying teaching-learning techniques in which one of them may, but need not, predominate. The term multiactivity approaches is used here to identify a variety of those approaches that are not otherwise reported and that often appear together in instructional situations. For example, a unit is usually regarded as a way of organizing materials and procedures for instruction, and ordinarily has as its core questions by students

or teachers in a fashion similar to inductive strategies. The treatment can relate readily to school programs and practices. Instructional units usually include a variety of methodologies; questioning, resource visits, individual and group reading, study of printed materials, audiovisual instruction, and many other procedures used in social studies instruction. Study and learning activity by students is the element common to these varying techniques.

An experiment (Portugaly, 1967) conducted with kindergarten children, and an ESEA Title I program (Wheeler, 1968) indicate that disadvantaged children's use of manipulative devices and learning experiences drawn from the immediate school community resulted in increased cognition. In both investigations the teachers were highly aware of immediate objectives for the children's learning. The Portugaly study especially indicated a positive cognitive gain and positive changes in attitude toward learning. While the Wheeler program yielded no experimental test data, the teachers who participated believed that the program was effective and that children learned more than in previously conducted program.

In a comprehensive study (Brzeinski, 1968), samples of Negro, Hispanic, and Anglo students participated in varying approaches to learning. The students in the activity-only group scored less well on tests of cognitive measures than students using activities combined with telecasts; however, Negroes in the activity-only program and Hispanic students scored higher than control group Negro students. Also significant attitude gains were observed in minority group students using the activity approach over the control group--the gains were particularly evident among Negro students. Gornick (1967) used an activity approach with upper elementary grade students. He found the highest gains among low intelligence students with greater enthusiasm and motivation. However, the limited sample and its composition suggest care in applying the implications of this study. But since disadvantaged students often show depressed scores on group intelligence tests, it is believed that this approach has promise for the disadvantaged. In a well-controlled study, Georgeoff (1967) found that a unit approach to Negro history yielded both positive information and attitude gains for Negro and white children.

King (1968) reports activities as being contributors to the success of a summer program for secondary students in which significant behavior changes in low-income students were noted. In a second study reported by Murray (1968), higher test scores were found on a standardized test on government and a cohesive feeling developed among the group receiving activity-centered methods when there was reduced emphasis on reading activities and increased emphasis on field trips, films, and speakers.

While the information acquisition was slightly greater, faculty and students indicated that the project group improved in general attitude toward school, the community, and themselves. North (1968) reports the activities of a center for Negro and Puerto Rican history, an African room, a Puerto Rican art gallery, and other related areas. There are no objective data to support hoped-for improvement in self-concept of the minority groups visiting the center; however, subjective evaluations show that the center helped the students gain a better understanding and appreciation for the contributions of minority groups.

Activity-centered approaches are being used successfully with disadvantaged and low intelligence elementary students. Multi-activities are more effective than are single or dual activities. Combinations of these examples of practices have promise for use with the disadvantaged elementary pupil; clearly stated, identifiable objectives, an emphasis on dramatics, storytelling, manipulative devices and tools, teacher-pupil planning, and construction activities.

SIMULATION STRATEGIES

Gaming and other forms of simulation are thought to have special advantages for all students and particularly the disadvantaged. Simulation materials provide opportunities to participate in the process of planning and carrying through strategies, solving problems, and making decisions in emulation of decisionmakers in various organized social, economic, and political activities. Some of the games involve a distinctive element of chance. Abt, in an occasional paper titled "Games for Learning" (Educational Services Incorporated, 1966) claims that games have the "advantages of dramatizing the limitations of effort and skill...encouraging the underachievers, making them particularly suitable for use with the disadvantaged child."

Research data on the efficacy of gaming when compared with traditional methodology are meager; especially lacking are data on the uses and effects of gaming with disadvantaged students. However, several writers do not hesitate to recommend gaming as a technique for all students. Anyone who has spent time with students in classrooms is aware that many would prefer any form of a game to a traditional methodology. Research reports indicate that participants enjoy playing the game. They also mention that students, regardless of reading ability, have little difficulty with the strategy of games. They do have some difficulty verbalizing the strategy (McFarlane, 1969). Recognition that reports of gaming are most often written by those connected with the production of games tempers conclusions regarding their efficacy as a teaching-learning techniques;

Blaxall (1965), in describing Abt Associates' experimental game program with disadvantaged youth, based his conclusions on observation, interviews, and teacher reactions regarding students involved in a special summer program. Some of his conclusions are possibly obvious: students were actively involved; student attention span was stretched; communication among students was encouraged; and classroom discipline was less of a problem. Other conclusions were less obvious: the self-teaching characteristic altered the teacher's role, allowing him to develop other relationships with his students; learning of abstract ideas was facilitated; and the games had relevance to student needs and interests. Because the disadvantaged student often ranks low in reading ability and intelligence test scores, and because of usual high student interest in gaming, simulation seems to hold potential as a strategy for teaching disadvantaged students.

In the matter of playing the game, Farran (1968) found that individual competition produced more learning than did games in which students were grouped to compete. This is perhaps because formerly unsuccessful students achieved immediate personal success and resulting status, and were thus more highly motivated than when status was shared with a group. However, Farran also found that in comparing group versus individual competition there was no difference in change of attitude toward learning. The optimum number of students playing a game at any one time was thought to be between 12 and 15. If more than 15 students were playing at the same time, it required much more of the teacher's attention for the game to progress smoothly (Blaxall, 1965). It was also thought that, if 20 or more students were playing, at least three teachers or game administrators were essential to the success of the game. It therefore seems that gaming offers distinct potential for use with disadvantaged students because it does not depend so largely on reading achievement and it is enjoyed by both students and teachers. If, however, increased information gain is a goal, games involving individual competition are probably preferable for disadvantaged students.

Like gaming, case study and role-playing methods are often considered viable techniques to use with students generally. The lack of experimental data and the inadequacies in research design limit the usefulness of the conslusions drawn about role-playing and case study techniques. In one study, however, students using the case method both liked the method of instruction and believed that they learned more from the materials and teaching procedures (Jones, 1965). Regardless of race, higher intelligence students made significantly better information gains than the higher intelligence group. The case method seemed to cause Mexican-American students to make the greatest attitude gains while making the lowest information gains. Negroes, who comprised the largest proportion of students, scored like the total sample in both attitude and information gains.

In a second study, this using simulation and role-playing as elements of the cases, Estes (1966) found that the case study groups in toto learned greater tolerance toward minorities and social isolates and agreement with the subject matter of the cases which could be interpreted as information gain. Of concern was the result that racial minorities (not clearly identified) showed less tolerance and less information gain than did the majority population groups. The positive results of this study do support the use of simulation for increasing tolerance of students, but it must be considered that the study also indicated lower tolerance after instruction in the groups that were more likely to be disadvantaged.

In view of the limited available research and design limitations in reported studies, the basis for judgment of the efficacy of simulation techniques for disadvantaged students is quite limited. It is possible to state that students and teachers enjoy simulation activities--this fact by itself is a strong positive note for the techniques. It is hoped that experiments with the many games now coming on the market will prove this methodology as viable a one as it has proved enjoyable.

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND OTHER FACTORS

There seems to be a lack of information on the effects of class size and intra- and inter-class grouping on the learning processes of disadvantaged students. There is some research on the effects of inter-class grouping (homogeneous, ability) on the slow learning student, which may account for the lack of experimentation with disadvantaged students. In an article published in the April 1961 issue of Educational Leadership titled "Grouping: What Have We Learned?" Maurice Bash sums up the available research with the generalizations that homogenous grouping has little effect on the fast learning student, somewhat less desirable effects on the average, and detrimental effects on the slow learning student. The contention is that when deprived of the stimulation of the faster learner the slower learner suffers.

Bash's generalization is supported by a study of fast and slow learning seventh-graders who were grouped either homogeneously or heterogeneously for instruction. The results of the 2-year study indicated positive knowledge improvements in the slow-learning students in heterogeneous classrooms. More positive self-concepts were developed by the slow learners placed in heterogeneous classrooms, although they believed that others did not necessarily view them in a more positive way (Stoakes, 1964). While the research on the effects of grouping on slow learning students is inconclusive, teachers persist in favoring homogeneous grouping. Uphoff (1967) reports that grouping procedures are widely used and favored by both teachers

and administrators. Small classes also allow students to function more freely and involve themselves in more investigative and discussion activities (Dow, 1969). Usually, small classes are favored by teachers, their citing such positive features as more teacher enthusiasm, more student interest, greater pupil achievement, and better student attitude (Uphoff, 1967).

The one project that reported data on a program involving team teaching in a block of time reported positive results with secondary school students. Although the study was not well controlled, the students made information gains over the period of study. It is difficult to state definitely whether these gains are attributable to the three teachers rated "excellent," the multimedia approach, or possibly a Hawthorne effect (Murray, 1968). Increased information gains were reported from another study (Young, 1967) in which a 3-hour block of time was devoted to individualized instruction in several subjects, one of which was social studies. Limitations of the research design make it hazardous to attempt to generalize from this study, however.

Summer programs seem to contribute to the information gain of disadvantaged students when certain instructional elements are present. Summer institutes in which instruction approximates that of the regular term is of doubtful value. The summer programs that produced gains were those that broke with the regular pattern of instruction by using selected teachers; small group instruction; comprehensive use of films, field trips, and high interest literature; upgraded organization; and instruction in a nonschool setting for the instruction (King, 1968). This program focused on information acquisition by students but not attitude change. The programs that focused on attitudinal factors (Milwaukee, 1968) and included Negro and white students produced more negative views of Negroes on the part of the white students and little or no change in the ways whites were viewed.

In another summer program (Wheeler, 1968) teachers believed that the elementary and secondary students learned more than the test scores showed. In this program, instructional materials were drawn from the surrounding community, and teachers had long planning periods. The teachers considered 6 or 8 weeks insufficient time to fully develop their lessons. On the positive side, the teachers believed that the instructional materials they developed themselves were the primary factor in making the program a success.

Summarizing, it seems evident that administrative organination does not have a great effect on the achievement of disadvantaged students. The major elements which have an effect appear to be the learning materials, the curriculum, and the teacher. Homogeneously grouped classrooms are detrimental to the knowledge gain and self-concept of the slow learner and--by implication--the disadvantaged student. There is some

evidence (Roth, 1969) that segregated elementary classrooms work against positive attitude development toward those of other races.

The most successful summer institute programs for students having school difficulties were those that departed from the normal pattern of instruction. The program elements that seem to make a difference are: specially selected teachers, curriculums that take advantage of the needs of the students in relation to their immediate surroundings, and the use of multimedia including field trips and printed materials other than the regular social studies textbook. Other administrative factors that seem to influence informational gain of students are teacher planning time, class size not to exceed 15 students, and the use of a nongraded pattern of organization.

STRATEGIES BY SCHOOL LEVELS

Kindergarten and Elementary

The elements of induction--posing questions, seeking answers, and generalizing from collected data to solve problems--whether using the name induction or problem-solving--appear to work best for disadvantaged elementary youngsters. Certainly, the elements of high interest and enjoyment are factors that cannot be ignored by the teacher of the disadvantaged. For if much of the disadvantaged school work is taught in a traditional fashion as content to be mastered, content that is seemingly unrelated to his life and is not meaningful to him, the youngster simply turns the teacher off.

This is not to say that there is no place for deductive strategies. Most authorities who write in elementary school social studies agree that the use of the strategies is not an either/or proposition. Rather, good teachers apply elements of both when appropriate for their students. In those instances where the greater gain occurred with deductive strategies, the strategy was either supplemented by readings, discussions, films, filmstrips, or other audiovisuals, or highly structured and sequential in teaching-learning objectives and activities to accomplish these objectives.

As already pointed out, interaction between students and students, and students and teacher makes deductive strategies effective. Most often interaction is thought of as discussion. However, at the kindergarten and elementary level interaction may take place during teacher-pupil planning sessions, group and committee work, research and construction activities--there is almost no end to the instances in which it may occur. Interaction without awareness of learning objectives on the part of the teacher and pupils, however, is just "talking" and as

such probably would not accomplish the desired objectives. Planned interaction is the desirable process, or interaction based upon identified objectives. Certainly, the grade level and the materials used are factors affecting the amount and quality of the interaction that occurs. Kindergarten programs of necessity are interactive; the most successful ones with the disadvantaged are those carefully sequenced in terms of the content covered, have definite objectives, and involve interactive elements such as games, storytelling, dramatics, and "play" type activities. The materials used can almost force interaction. When using the program "One Nation Indivisible" teachers seemed to move away from the role of giving information toward reacting to the students and the material.

Studies of elementary-age children suggest that activity approaches yield both increased cognitive gain and attitude gain. The attitude change takes the form of positive attitude gains in the direction desired by the teacher or the materials designer. The attitude gain is further described by teachers as increased enthusiasm for the study on the part of the disadvantaged youngster. Except with kindergarten children, activities without some accompanying structured learning process do not enable children to make as much knowledge gain as to those strategies that make use of an information input plus one or more activities to reinforce the knowledge input.

The advantages of gaming, role-playing, and other simulation approaches for disadvantaged youngsters are apparent. They are enjoyable, success in gaming is not seriously limited by the child's reading ability, purposeful communication between students is encouraged, classroom discipline is less of a problem, and, to a large extent, simulation approaches are self-teaching. The active-involvement element inherent in these approaches has particular appeal for the disadvantaged child.

Multimedia cannot stand alone as a productive approach to teaching disadvantaged elementary students. It must be combined with other approaches to produce increased knowledge and attitude changes in these children. The research reports increased gains using films, telecasts, and other media with various strategies. Because of the seeming lack of in-school verbal facility of the disadvantaged child, good results occur when media are combined with other elements such as discussions, field trips, supplementary reading, and classroom interaction activities. The key idea seems to be active involvement of the student. Disadvantaged children do not learn as well by passively watching or listening; they respond more fully when actively involved in the learning process.

Upper elementary grade teachers do not favor a textbook approach to teaching; primary grade teachers are not so definite. In general, elementary teachers believe that children

learn more and retain more if materials beyond the text are used. This is not to say that textbooks should be totally ignored by teachers of disadvantaged children, but they should be supplemented by field trips, films, filmstrips, discussion, and other interaction approaches.

The presently available research leads one to believe that homogeneous grouping is detrimental to the slow learning elementary student. This suggests that the same is true for the disadvantaged child. There is some evidence, however, that pupils' attitudes toward others can be positively influenced by planned learning experiences with children of other races or by integration of racial and ethnic groups in elementary classrooms.

At this time there is no hard evidence to support or reject ideas on class size or graded or nongraded school organization. It does seem reasonable that, since disadvantaged students profit most from active involvement in the learning process, classes should be small enough to enable teachers to give attention to students on an individual and small group basis. Further, it seems reasonable that a nongraded school organization would eliminate at least part of the failure syndrome that is now encouraged by the graded school. By doing away with the idea of failure in favor of continuous progress no matter how small, the disadvantaged child's concept of worth would be enhanced.

Secondary

The paucity of experimental studies with disadvantaged students at the secondary level make any conclusions regarding efficacy on inductive verus deductive strategies quite tenuous. However, the reported research using samples of disadvantaged students reflects that induction is more widely used in experimentation.

Multiactivity programs are being attempted with disadvantaged secondary school students, particularly in summer programs. It seems that, when these remedial programs are in the planning stages, the planners choose types of activities that are not normally used during regular terms and attempt a wide variety of vicarious and firsthand experiences for their students. For disadvantaged student multiactivity programs seem to increase understanding of what is being studied and their liking for learning and school.

Simulation type strategies are gaining favor among teachers and students in secondary schools. Every study reporting results of gaming, role-playing, or the use of case studies reports positive knowledge gain for the participants. Very few gaming situations deal with attitude development or even have attitude dimensions except that all report that students like playing the

game. In the case of disadvantaged students it seems that individual competition is more desirable to students than group competition perhaps because when they win they immediately receive personal gratification that need not be shared with a group of winners.

It is possible to state that since students enjoy simulation exercises and do learn from them they should be incorporated into the methodology repertoire of the teacher. However, the school should proceed very cautiously in attempting to influence students' attitudes toward other via simulation strategies.

Ability grouping is often favored by teachers and school administrators. The form of grouping that most affects disadvantaged students is ability grouping. The available research literature relates that in particular this type of grouping penalizes the slower learning student. When students are grouped homogeneously they seem to suffer in both subject matter acquisition and in self-concept.

Small classes make sense especially for the disadvantaged. Small classes afford opportunities for students to interact with each other and their teachers, and allow teachers to depend on activity-centered teaching strategies. The more successful programs are those that utilize a combination of school organization factors: small classes, blocks of time, provision for teacher planning, and instruction in a nonschool setting. Further, these programs used combinations of multimedia, interaction, and multiactivity strategies.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Even though rigorous experimental design and statistical treatment were not always applied to the projects reporting data on teaching the disadvantaged or teaching about the disadvantaged, there are data that form a base for the implications and recommendations that follow.

1. The pattern of teaching strategies used with the disadvantaged should feature active involvement of students.

2. Inductive strategies are favored but students do profit from deductive teaching-learning especially if multiactivity and interaction dimensions are included.

3. Classes should be small to allow for individualized teaching and activity work. The students should not be homogeneously grouped but placed in classes with students of various ethnic backgrounds and ability levels.

4. Classrooms should be organized so that youngsters have opportunities for contact with students of different abilities and different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

III

MEDIA

Media are more effective in teaching the disadvantaged when used in conjunction with other materials and strategies. Disadvantaged children do not learn as well by passively watching or listening; they respond better when actively involved in the learning process.

This section synthesizes the research on the efficacy of using various media with the disadvantaged student.

MULTIMEDIA

The studies that used television and films showed that elementary students gained in both knowledge and attitude change. Since television and films are used usually in conjunction with other methodology or materials, the results are to some extent inconclusive. Brzeinski (1968) found that experimental groups using telecasts only and telecasts coupled with field trips and classroom social activities increased more in information and attitude than groups who had none of these activities and those who had all the activities but the telecasts. Attitudes toward learning selected material were more favorable among groups using films and printed material; students believed that learning was easier when films were used (Dow, 1969). That knowledge increases with the use of television and films is fairly evident (Brzeinski, 1968), and that positive attitude change toward learning occurs through the use of these media is evident; however, positive attitude change toward minority groups by students is not so evident. Positive attitude changes toward Negroes occurred when films of minority group individuals were shown to white elementary students. These films showed Negroes and whites in nonmenial work. The results were more negative attitudes toward whites pictured and yet no more positive evaluation of the Negro pictures on the part of the Negro student. When the same films were shown in all-white classes, more favorable ratings of both whites and Negroes occurred after viewing the films (Teahan, 1967).

A multimedia approach in teaching Negro history to whites and Negroes resulted in information gains for all students, but no positive attitude gains toward Negroes (Muller, 1969). The same results were reported by Georgeoff (1967) for information gains; however, interracial preferences were expressed by the children, indicating some attitude gains.

When increased knowledge is the objective, the use of television, films, and various media is justified. However, if positive attitude change of whites toward Negroes and Negroes toward whites is the desired outcome, the issue remains in doubt. Special programs stressing information acquisition through multimedia with elementary students yield positive results. Since disadvantaged youngsters are not verbally oriented, at least not to the language of the public school, nonverbal learning materials yield more favorable results (Forester, 1968). Nonverbal learning may be part of the answer to learning problems of disadvantaged students. Certainly, the Dow (1969) program, a part of which was student excursions, and in informal evaluation statements of the New York City Negro and Puerto Rican supplementary education centers described by North (1968) favored this activity for disadvantaged students.

Using a multimedia program Muller (1969) found secondary school students increased in knowledge of the Negro in American history. He also found, however, that positive attitude change toward Negroes did not occur. While the previous two statements indicate certain knowledge and attitude information, the teachers who participated in the study believed that they had been very successful in teaching American history. A large proportion thought they saw some positive attitude change in students toward various ethnic groups. Somewhat the same observations can be made about a study involving a curriculum laboratory containing collections of Afro-American materials and audiovisual equipment--that is, different perceptions by students and teachers of the results of the work with the materials and equipment. In this instance, the students rated the laboratory's book collection its primary strength, while the teachers gave highest rating to the films and filmstrips.

Media for teaching Negro history have been quite scarce. Only slightly more than half the States have some type of material available for teachers. Most frequently available are bibliographies referring to books, periodicals, and audio-visual references (Goff, 1969).

The above indicates that the use of a multimedia approach with disadvantaged students when increased knowledge is the objective is a legitimate approach. Increased information gains have been observed when media such as television, films, visual aids, and excursions were used. On the other hand, when the primary objective is to change students' attitudes, favorable

results are not so likely. Generally, results are positive with elementary-age children--the younger they are, the more impact teaching can make on their attitudes toward others. However, when older students are exposed to media and when the primary goal is attitudinal change, media approaches have less success.

TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks have generally been the subject of criticism for varied reasons. Recently this criticism has shifted to focus on their ethnic content. From an examination of three current surveys of texts in use, it is evident that the evaluators have strong common feelings about the shaded interpretations, the inaccuracies, and the omissions regarding minorities that are so prevalent in the published texts in use today. The apparent intent of these surveys was to document what was wrong with texts. It should also be noted that they lacked specific standards upon which to base judgments as well as, possibly, objectivity.

A majority of the criticism centers on textbook treatment of one or a combination of the following elements: Negroes, American history, or minority groups other than Negro. Three of the four surveys considered only secondary school textbooks. Only one included elementary school texts, and those were only a small proportion of the books involved in that survey.

The most sweeping indictments focused on obvious errors of omission. The authors almost totally ignored Negroes in the development of the Nation. If Negroes were mentioned, it was usually in a bland, innocuous, or uncontroversial manner. Second, an evident omission was the avoidance of the controversial or any unpleasant episodes relating to Negroes in the history of our country. The texts surveyed exhibited an almost total avoidance of the human element in the portrayal of minorities--that element that makes fiction and biography so fascinating to young people. Further, the texts misinterpreted or ignored the significance of the current civil rights movement and took a neutral stance on controversial issues, or as cited an "absence of moral stand" on the treatment of Negroes in the history of the Nation (Stamp, 1964; Menge, 1968). Sloan (1968) in his analysis of secondary school history books gave much the same analysis and drew similar conclusions to those in the previously cited studies. However, Sloan contended that most of the newer editions were giving a fairer treatment to the role of the American Negro than earlier editions. Much the same observations were made by Carpenter and Rank (1968), but a violation called "lack of integration" was also noted. Texts usually isolate most references to minority groups from the course of history as it is presently treated, either ignoring multiracial societies,

mentioning minority groups in a chapter on civil rights, or simply referring to civil rights movements in the final chapters of the text. The Marcus (1961) analysis parallels the previously mentioned studies in regard to the treatment of Negroes in secondary school textbooks. Marcus does go a step further when he points out that there has been little improvement in the treatment of Asians and Spanish-speaking immigrants in the texts published in the decade of the 1950's. However, those texts reflected a more positive attitude about the immigrants contribution to American society. Further, the textbook treatment of Jews in world and American history books has been largely inadequate or incidental with the exception of "reasonably good discussions" of modern Israel.

Thus there are implications for textbook selections in schools. Selection committees should attempt to select texts that reflect the real world of the disadvantaged child--texts that illustrate inner-city neighborhoods with row houses and candy stores. Narrative and illustrations of minorities and majorities working on a joint endeavor would provide an element of realism that is lacking in most present texts. Since each student lives in some sort of community, textbooks should contain material to help the student study his immediate community, rather than provide readings in some mythical place that may have little relevance to his life.

What does research show on the traditional reliance of teachers on a text as the primary vehicle of social studies instruction for the disadvantaged student?

In a survey of outstanding teachers of disadvantaged children, Cheyney (1966) found that a unit approach was favored over the textbook approach by middle-grade elementary teachers, while primary grade teachers were divided evenly as to the method they preferred. However, it should be considered that for years outstanding teachers have not used the textbook to the exclusion of other instructional resources. Only in recent years have social studies texts even been provided pupils in some primary grades. The teachers queried believed that students learned and retained more content when taught by other-than-textbook media. In a study to determine the efficacy of tradebook versus text and pamphlet versus textbook groups, it was found that there was no difference between groups in the amount of content learned, although the non-textbook groups seemed to retain more information than did the textbook-only group (Edgar, 1966).

The use of modified (lower reading level) text materials is widespread, but the effectiveness of these materials for the secondary school student is in doubt. Only when this type of material is heavily supplemented with other texts, films, and other audiovisual materials were positive information gains observed (Baines, 1967; Wilson, 1967). However, student

reaction to this type of material is favorable, as is teacher reaction (Uphoff, 1967). Results of the Baines and Wilson studies were inconclusive, however, and only two studies do not constitute a large enough sample upon which to base hard and fast decisions on the efficacy of this type of learning material.

It seems evident that the substantive quality of the textbook, particularly the American history text used in secondary schools, is poor. While the quality of the printing and the illustrations has steadily risen throughout the years, it is questionable whether the content of the text particularly in its treatment of minorities has kept pace. Perhaps the heavy reliance on the social studies text is a contributing factor in students disliking social studies, and perhaps the unrealistic treatment and lack of relevance of Negro life in the past and the present have been contributing factors in the Negro student "turning off" social studies instruction as an inconsequential part of his education.

Since much of social studies instruction deals with events that are removed in both time and space from most pupil' experience, whether disadvantaged or otherwise, it is imperative that some "vehicle" be used that can bring far-away experiences within the purview of the student. The most common of these vehicles, other than textbooks and visuals, is the growing number of tradebooks--nonfiction, biography, and fiction.

Surveys of children's literature indicate that the number of tradebooks on the market or in school libraries that tell a story about American minorities is relatively small in proportion to the total number of fiction tradebooks in existence. In those books that portray characters from minorities, the characters are often stereotypes. Sometimes they are stereotyped in such a fashion that students cannot identify with and learn vicariously from them.

It appears that the use of children's fictional literature and biography can effect changes in elementary students' attitudes (Fisher, 1965, and Litcher, 1969), but simply reading this type of material does not necessarily increase students' subject matter acquisition (Fisher, 1965). Information acquisition by disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged students when reading fictional literature is not different from students reading textbooks. However, when the teacher takes time to discuss the reading with the students both positive attitudinal changes and increased cognitive changes result.

Gustafson (1967) found that members of ethnic groups tend to score higher on tests of characteristics of people in their own minority than on tests of minority group characteristics other than their own. They also tend to retain information about their own group longer than information about other groups. This generaliztion holds true for minorities except Negroes.

Data to support the above contentions for older students are scanty. Only one study (Murray, 1969) was identified that had any bearing on the use of tradebooks with students older than junior high age. This study was limited by several factors, among them the sampling procedure used and the very subjective rating scales administered to the teachers and the students. Liberal use of "high interest" literature was one of the identifiable media, tradebooks being a likely source of teaching materials. This study supports significant improvements in the students' performance after teaching--subject, of course, to the previously mentioned reservations. Tenuous as it may be, this study, when considered with the previously cited studies, seems to indicate that positive attitude change is possible with the use of high interest literature.

In summary, positive attitude changes toward minorities can be brought about among disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged students by their reading selected literature whose subject matter favorably but realistically treats the selected minorities. However, if higher cognition is a goal, tradebook reading must be accompanied by discussion.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Because of disadvantaged students' difficulty with the language of the school, audiovisual media should be used. Audiovisuals should be supplemented by readings and discussion.

2. When the content and the difficulty level of games is appropriate, gaming techniques should be used.

3. Programs designed to teach about minority groups should draw heavily from audiovisual media if knowledge gains are the objective of the programs. The audiovisuals should be followed by discussions and activities.

4. When tradebook content is suitable to the curricuulum and students, tradebooks should be used in place of textbooks. When tradebooks or textbooks are used they should be supplemented by discussions, activities, and audiovisuals.

5. Selected textbooks should feature minority group characters in both illustrations and in the narrative.

6. Schools should be extremely cautious when exposing students to conflict-type media. Often students are not prepared to handle this kind of media content, and more than good may happen to these students' feelings toward others.

IV

TEACHERS FOR AND ABOUT THE DISADVANTAGED

Most efforts to investigate or improve school practices give special attention to teachers, for research in education has long since verified that the teacher's role is a centrally influential one in school instruction. Research on teachers of and about the disadvantaged, however, was meager: only 19 of about 70 data reports selected for this study included enough data on teachers to provide a basis for interpretation, and some of these reports involved only a few teachers. However, they are reported here as having possible implications for others.

TEACHER TRAINING

The most often used means for preparing teachers to engage in experimental or innovative teaching are variously labeled workshop or inservice sessions or programs. The considerable range of variations in numbers and timing of sessions, length of sessions, and number of weeks or months during which they operate makes it difficult to compare them and to generalize regarding such training programs. The most extensive inservice programs are reported by Edgar (1966), Gornick (1967), and Dow (1969). Despite limitations of diversity in both the nature of the teacher-training programs and in the extent and nature of evaluation of teacher training in these projects, some implications can be suggested to those working with teachers in relation to social studies and the disadvantaged. Clearly most project personnel who have engaged in and evaluated teacher training for their projects conclude that it is essential. Their motion is generally seconded by teachers participating in the projects. However, the effects on students' learning in classes of trained versus not trained teachers have not been sufficiently compared. Lack of clearly favorable evidence implies the need to gather more data. But the judgment of both the leaders and teacher-participants in such training programs may well be considered as valuable guidance. School systems that attempt seriously to improve social studies for or about the disadvantaged will do well to incorporate specific and pertinent teacher training into their program. The most evident suggestions growing out of the projects analyzed are that there should be some teacher training and that it sould be planned and operated as an important element of the program.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT BY TEACHERS

Innovative projects involving social studies and the disadvantaged sometimes engage teachers in major planning of a new or revised curriculum. A half dozen of the projects surveyed so involved teachers. The extent and types of teacher participation varied.

Three of the projects involved teachers in curriculum planning for a considerable period of time. The Law in American Society curriculum development was most extensive (Ratcliffe, 1969). It engaged a total of more than 200 teachers in summer workshops of several weeks each over a period of three summers. While different teachers attended each summer, each workshop prepared, revised, refined, or extended drafts of curriculum materials. These included seven booklets for students in various secondary social studies courses, and a teacher's handbook for each course. The handbook stressed learning activities, particularly those requiring active student involvement and inquiry learning. Commercial publication of the teacher-produced materials testified to tangible success of this effort.

The projects reported by Edgar (1966) and Muller (1969) engaged teachers somewhat less extensively in the total time for curriculum development than did Ratcliffe's project. Edgar involved 12 teachers for most of a school year in 15 sessions before, during, and after the instruction. The Muller project continued over a 2-year period with 18 teachers meeting for 15 half-days during the first year. They met with representatives of the community, the State department of education, students, and other groups; visited schools identified as having innovative programs; and examined books on recent trends in social studies. Occasionally during the following school year principal-designated teachers were released to develop the experimental curriculum for the full year in grades five, eight, and eleven. Reported data in both the Edgar and Muller studies concern students' achievement. Edgar does, however, comment specifically and favorably on development of the curriculum by teachers with consultant help and leadership.

More limited teacher involvement in curriculum development occurred in three additional projects. Teachers and supervisors in a Milwaukee, Wisconsin, project planned a new seventh-grade course in world history, culture, and institutions (Ashbaugh, 1966-67); but the nature of and procedures in their curriculum planning are not reported. Twenty-six Gary, Indiana, teachers met four times over a 3-month period to revise content, select instructional materials, and include Negro history in fourth-grade instruction during part of the school year (Georgeoff, 1967). A varying approach in Kansas City, Missouri (Wheeler, 1968), provided a daily planning period for teachers of the

fifth through tenth grades in summer school. The summer school term ran 6 weeks at the elementary level and 8 weeks in secondary schools. Many of the teachers involved valued highly the planning period, but some considered inadequate the shortened instructional period as it did not provide enough time to finish their planned lessons.

Implications for school practice are limited by the small number and considerable diversity of projects reporting curriculum development by teachers. It is evident, however, that project leaders plus participating teachers do generally favor this type of professional activity as an aid to project success.

INSTRUCTIONAL PLANNING BY TEACHERS

Seven of the projects surveyed in this study reported on instructional planning by teachers. The seven are so diverse, however, as to defy direct comparisons or identification of emphases. The following analysis, then, merely illustrates some of the range of instructional planning practices reported. In general, the projects reported vary from those described under curriculum development by teachers in the former's (1) providing less extensive time for teacher planning, (2) typical teacher planning of lessons rather than of courses or other long periods of instruction, and (3) teacher planning only during the period of experimental instruction rather than before it.

One project (Dow, 1969) included but did not report descriptively such instructional planning by teachers as was involved. Reference is made to teachers' difficulty in handling the new (anthropological) content and in developing more open-ended instructional approaches. A majority of the teachers (grades four through six) also reported relating the experiemental content to such subjects as language arts, science, and art. But the procedures used by the teachers in developing these relationships are not indicated.

Edgar's study (1966) involved instructional planning as a part of the curriculum planning that also preceded and followed the period of instruction. The nature of teachers' specific planning activities is not indicated, but the researchers regarded the allocated time (once a week for about a third of the school year) as distinctly insufficient. The Hayes report (1969) indicates planning by a unique committee consisting equally of teachers and students (10 each). These volunteer members met only four times to develop plans for using in their various schools the resources of an Afro-American Instructional Curriculum Laboratory. Smith (1967) reported not only pre-experimental training of a group of six participating teachers,

but also consultation available to the teachers during the 2 weeks of experimental instruction. They made little use of this service and also refrained from writing the criticisms (she had requested) of her lesson plans for them. Planning during the period of instruction is reflected in Stoakes' report (1964) of an increase in teacher's requests for instructional materials that he provided. And Wheeler's study (1968) reported that, in the teachers' judgment, they really met more effectively the needs of students by preparing (during 90-minute planning periods) an instructional unit particularly for them.

Although the small number of projects reporting diverse instructional planning practices does deter generalizing, some comments are appropriate. Allocated time for teachers to plan instruction sometimes, but not consistently, results in greater learning of desired measured types. Such an allocation of time is even more favorably appraised in the subjective responses of teachers and project leaders. On the assumption that higher teacher morale is in itself desirable, then provision should be made for such extra time when varying emphases or approaches in content or instructional procedures are to be implemented.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

Those seeking guidance to identification of the "best" teachers of social studies for or about the disadvantaged will be disappointed in the limited data that research and development projects have reported. Nevertheless, a brief description can call attention here to such information as eight studies have reported. The range of teacher characteristics reported includes some beyond teacher skills and knowledge.

Some attitudes of teachers are reported in the studies by Dooley (1968), Georgeoff (1967), and Smith (1967). Dooley inferred that the greater gains he found among Negro students with Negro teachers derived at least partly from pride these teachers felt over being included in the experimentation. Georgeoff thought that Negro teachers who had both white and Negro students in their classes were reluctant to teach forcefully the experimental Negro history material for fear of arousing hostility among their white students; white teachers, also interviewed by the researcher, revealed no special hesitancy in this regard. Smith found, by interview, the six Negro teachers involved in her study to be variously hesitant, evasive, apathetic, and unknowledgeable, but also desirous of specific aids and grateful for the help they received. In all three of these studies, the researchers report their impression of, rather than more tangible data concerning, the teachers.

Ratcliffe (1969) demonstrated that teachers can be moved toward a fuller inquiry orientation as a result of intensive, pre-experimental inquiry training. Rousch (1969) found that variations among a small number of preservice Teacher Corps interns in sex, age, experience, educational background, geographical origin, and race made no identifiable difference in the lack of effect of video and audio tape feedback in their instructional behavior, including elements of accepting and interacting with their students.

Perhaps understandably, but nonetheless regrettably, few projects have reported on the effects of teacher knowledge of the experimental subject matter in relation to performance of students. Only an occasional one of the reported teacher-training projects did include this factor. Green's study (1966) showed a little difference favoring elementary teachers trained in anthropology, but his report did not separately identify the disadvantaged pupils from others. Potterfield (1966) reported that teacher background in the subject matter made little difference in performance of pupils studying an anthropology unit in the middle grades; but only one trained and one untrained teacher taught the five experimental classes. The pupils of low socioeconomic class scored about as high as those of high socio-economic class on the achievement test.

Imperatore (1969) analyzed teachers' background in geography in relation to performance of kindergarteners on an introductory unit concerning the earth. The extent of teachers' background failed to make a statistically significant difference of pupils' performance. However, teachers who had had more courses in geography tended more to regard the 27-lesson unit as appropriate for instruction; and these two factors together related quite closely to the degree of pupil achievement. More experienced teachers were also distinctly more effective. Material furnished all of the experimental teachers included five essays dealing with geographic content for teachers. The researcher attributed the limited influence of teachers' geographic background to the "low-powered" nature of the geographic subject matter. In this study there was no significant difference in the performance of white and Negro pupils. However, the combined factors of race and socioeconomic status showed disadvantaged pupils scoring lower than others.

Among the projects surveyed in this study, only the one reported by Whitla deals with a broad range of teacher characteristics. Most of those characteristics involve teachers' reactions to the experimental materials and the three training films that concerned instructional use of the material. Whitla reported somewhat varying reactions of men and women teachers and of teachers of racially integrated and nonintegrated classes. Variations were also reported among men and women regarding the instructional material itself.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Perhaps an outstanding finding of this study is the limited attention given to teachers of the disadvantaged in the projects surveyed.

While some of the projects may have dealt with, and even gathered data on, professional development, the reports of their projects did not so indicate. Clearly, however, the need for progress in teacher selection, training, and curriculum development demands that more effort be made to secure and report data concerning teachers. These data should indicate information on the basic characteristics of teachers if they are to shed light on what kinds of persons are most effective in teaching social studies for and about the disadvantaged.

Participating teachers and the project leaders generally endorse teacher training and teacher development of curriculum on or for the disadvantaged. The enthusiasm of those who have tried it, albeit often lacking the support of "hard data," contrasts sharply with apparent ignoring of professional characteristics and development in the other projects.

Particular note may be made of the lack of reports on preservice training of social studies teachers for or about the disadvantaged. As practically all preservice training occurs in colleges and universities, it is those institutions that apparently need their attention called to the lack of research and development data in this area.

V

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE EDUCATION COMMUNITY

The following recommendations are suggested:

1. The social studies curriculum should be revised to include more specific attention to various ethnic groups that compose and have contributed to multi-cultural, pluralistic American society and world civilization. Such attention should be balanced among ethnic groups.

2. Teachers and students should be provided a range of instructional media that faithfully reflect the ethnic as well as other elements of society. Supervisors should strengthen requests and encourage pressures for an adequate supply of instructional materials.

3. Curriculum revision should emphasize voluntary utilization by schools and teachers of the new approaches, content, or materials. "Soft-sell" is preferable to "hard-sell" among teachers as well as students. Curriculum guides should suggest and stimulate rather than dictate; alternative means should be indicated.

4. Social studies about the disadvantaged should be planned for more than a single grade or course at each of the elementary and secondary school levels. The emphases and approaches at each level should be reinforcing or otherwise complementary. Particularly recurrent attention is needed to attitudinal objectives.

5. Distinct effort should be made to develop or select specific, tangible specification of various desirable outcomes of social studies, and corresponding statements of definite objectives should be spelled out.

6. Distinct efforts should be made to secure evaluation of the results of both present and innovative approaches, programs, and materials. Evaluation should be based on more than opinions of participants.

7. Teachers should be encouraged and allowed to participate in curriculum revision and selection of instructional materials. Every teacher in the social studies offering involved may be invited to participate at the school level. In a local school system representatives should be involved from each school; and at the State level, each area of the State should be represented. In both, representatives of diverse ethnic and other groups should be included.

8. Inservice training of social studies teachers should include specific attention, perhaps at various times and for differing groups, to social studies for and about the disadvantaged. Competent and helpful consultants should be utilized, and teachers should be encouraged to participate. The form and type of training are less important than its content and utility.

9. The cooperation and support of school officials, general supervisors or curriculum or instructional program directors, and some student and adult citizen groups are desirable and sometimes necessary for extensive curriculum change in a controversial area. Social studies supervisors should seek to solicit and stimulate needed facilitation of desired changes.

10. Facilitation and other support, preferably coordinated, is needed from policy-making and resource-allocating officials and groups in efforts to improve social studies for and about the disadvantaged. School officials should channel their policies and support through social studies supervisors, or if none, other appropriate school personnel who have continuing responsibility for the full social studies programs in the schools.

11. School administrators and board members should recognize the widespread neglect of social studies for and about the disadvantaged in terms of substantial support of needed instructional materials, appropriately trained teachers, curriculum development, and teacher-training programs.

12. Support should be given especially to those plans for improvement that involve tryout on a limited scale but with adequate resources devoted to the effort. "Window-dressing" changes are less beneficial in the long run than carefully planned changes with results measured and reported.

13. School administrators, board members, and general curriculum directors should give special recognition to the tendency for social studies content to become outdated and to involve controversy. Thus resources should be provided to build public understanding that the public schools need to reflect and contribute to a multicultural, pluralistic society.

14. General curriculum directors should assume special responsibility for social studies and the disadvantaged in their school systems where there is no social studies supervisor. In those systems with one or more social studies specialists, the general curriculum director may serve as both a catalyst for social studies improvement, when needed, and a coordinator between the social studies and other areas of the curriculum.

15. Social studies consultants to school systems should recognize the great divergence within schools among individual students, teachers, schools, communities, and ethnic and other groups in American society. Consultants can be most helpful when they recommend or simply identify alternative approaches that appear relatable to the characteristics of particular school situations. Teachers and supervisors need to be aware of a variety of directions, approaches, or means from which they can select particular ones to apply to their situations. Limitations, including unknowns, of particular approaches as well as their demonstrated and potential advantages should be known. When possible, consulting should be arranged on a continuing basis over a significant length of time to allow a consultant both opportunity and responsibility to revise his approach in terms of effects or lack of them.

16. Teacher educators should give more attention to the disadvantaged in their regular preservice and advanced study programs as well as through special offerings in conferences, workshops, institutes, clinics, and other means. In this effort, too, prospective and experienced teachers should be provided with some alternatives and not merely a single set of correct answers. Teacher educators must be concerned with realities of diverse teaching situations if they are to contribute effectively to improving social studies for and about the disadvantaged.

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The books listed below may be of assistance to the social studies teacher or supervisor who wishes to get an over-view of the disadvantaged learner.

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